1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Terms of Relationship

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;[1] but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained.

601 [193]

Parent and Child Class

tikoi'	*my father*
tila"	*my mother*
tiɣa'n	*my son*
tiɣa'nu	*my daughter*

Sibling Class

ti.a"t'u	*my elder brother or c. male cousin*
til"su	*my elder sister or c. female cousin*
tipo"yu	*my younger brother or y. male cousin*
tiwi'tauk	*my younger sister or y. female cousin*

Grandparent and Grandchild Class

tipa'pa	*my father's father*
lapa"pa	*my son's child (m. sp.)*
ti.s'lel	*my mother's father*
la.s'lell	*my daughter's child (m. sp.)*
ti.'a'ma	*my father's mother*
la'a"ama (also recorded la.a"ama)	*my son's child (w. sp.)*
tiku"u	*my mother's mother*
lebu'k'u.l	*my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term)*
leku"l	*my daughter's child (w. sp.)*
tisa'ma	*my father's father's sister*
lasa"ama	*my brother's son's child (w. sp.)*
lasa'tsagi	*my brother's son's son (m. sp.)*
tisa'tauk	*my father's father's brother*

Uncle and Nephew Class

ti.s'.'uci	*my father's brother; mother's sister's husband*
tima"aca	*my brother's child (m. sp.)*
tita"a	*my mother's brother*
tima"gu	*my sister's child;*[2] *my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.)*
tiya'	*my father's sister*
tic'muk	*my brother's child (w. sp.)*
tica'ca	*my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother*

[1] California Kinship Systems, UC-PAAE 12:362, 1917.

[113]

[2] For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be *c'muk*. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magadakoi, which phrase supports my definition of *magu*.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipu'ṡ'ɣali	my son-in-law
le'ˇyec	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ala'rut	my wife's brother, husband's sister[a]
timɛ.ˇ'uci	my husband's brother[b]
tida'maa	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaca'ca	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'ɣil	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[c]

Spouse Class

tipume'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

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114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother from father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[d] But in classing *all* cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[e] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to 601 address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name.

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[a] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[b] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[c] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[d] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

[e] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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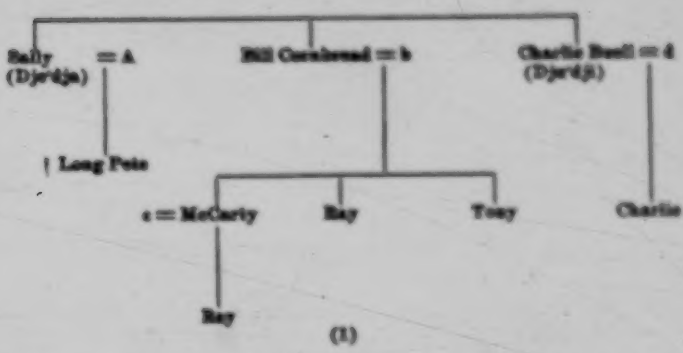


(I)

Sally and Bill call Charlie Buell tipe'ya, and this is the term Sally applies to both her brothers. Charlie calls Bill ti.a'ta; Bill calls Sally ti.i'ya.

McCarty calls Sally tiya'; she calls him tio'uuh and would call a hypothetical sister of his by the same word. McCarty does not consider Sally's husband—his father's sister's husband—a relative at all. The two men would merely address each other as tikmi'la, my friend.

Sally calls Ray, McCarty's child, laas'^aana and is reciprocally called tiaa'ua. Bill calls Ray lapa'^pa and is in turn addressed as tipe'ya.

McCarty calls Charlie Buell ti.a'uui; if McCarty had a sister, she would apply the same uncle term. Charlie Buell would call his nephew and niece tiaa'^aaa.

McCarty calls Charlie's wife—his father's brother's wife—tiaa'ua. She calls McCarty and Long Pete tiaa'^ga; Bill's wife applies the same term to her sister's child; Bill applies it to Long Pete, Charlie Buell's wife to Long Pete.

Long Pete calls Bill tita'^a. Bill's wife's brother calls McCarty tiaa'^ga, McCarty calls his mother's brother tita'^a.

Bill calls Charlie Buell's wife tiaaaa'ua. She calls Bill tiaa.a'uui.

Sally's husband calls Bill ti.a'aaui; Bill's wife calls Bill's sister by the same term. Bill's sister calls Bill's wife tiya'ali.

Bill's wife's sister's child calls Bill's wife tiaa'ua, which term thus evidently designates mother's sister as well as paternal uncle's wife. Further, McCarty calls his present stepmother tiaa'ua and is called tiaa'^ga by her.

Bill calls Sally's husband—that is, his sister's husband—tida'maa before the birth of a child, thereafter teknonymically tiaa'^ga takoi', my nephew's father. Similarly, a woman speaks of her sister's husband after the birth of a child.

Bill speaks of and to his wife's sister descriptively, for example, timlal'ya ta'wi'tcuk, my wife her younger sister. She calls him tida'maa before he has a child and subsequently tiaa'^ga takoi', my nephew's father.

Long Pete calls McCarty tipe'^ya, and is in turn addressed as ti.a'^t'a. If Sally had a daughter, McCarty would call this cousin tio'^uuh or ti.i'^ua, and be addressed as tipe'^ya or tia'^t'a in turn. Similarly, sibling terms are used by Charlie Buell's children with reference to Bill's children, and vice versa; and between Sally's and Bill's children reciprocally.

Bill calls McCarty tiaa'm and would call a daughter tiaa'ua. McCarty calls Bill tikoi' and his own mother tila'.

Bill calls either of his parents-in-law le'yuk, and is called tipe' a'uall by either.

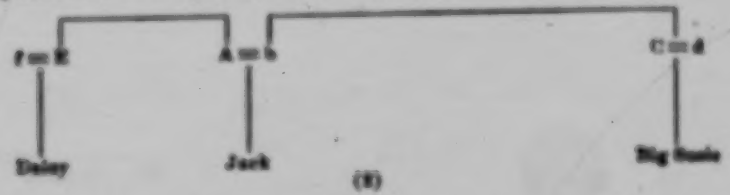
There was no term used by Bill's parents for his wife's parents, or vice versa, though Gifford notes fifty-one out of fifty-four Californian tribes as having a specific term for child's spouse's parent."

" Gifford, *op. cit.*, 192.

● 601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'yus; she calls Bill and his wife le'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father tí.'ísi, and is called la'bíl in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'u'ma and is called la'a'ume in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" loka'i.



(E)

Jack calls C tita'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tsuk, and E tí.'ísi. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiye' pume'ti, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tsunai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as tinlai'ya tawi'tsuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipa'ya tsas'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the gaiz'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a mi'luwe'ne dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had [178] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a frankin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

Tolmund B-8 (1952-1957)1960 NTSU Washo NTSU
[P.355,A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous matrilocal has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1924), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1956). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

[P.355, B]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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The classification of kinship systems used in this study is the one proposed by Robert H. Lowie (1928). On the basis of the terminological usages in the parental generation, he defined four types of kinship systems: generation, bifurcate merging, lineal, and bifurcate collateral. In generation terminology, one term is used for all male relatives and another term for all female relatives in the parental generation. In bifurcate merging terminology there is a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister, but father's sister and mother's brother have separate terms. The lineal type of terminology distinguishes father from father's brother and mother's brother (who are designated by a single term) and mother from mother's sister and father's sister (who are also referred to by a single term). Bifurcate collateral terminology has six distinct terms for parents and their siblings. Lowie's four types "can be applied to any trio of kinsmen in the same generation and of the same sex, provided the second is a collateral relative of the first in the same line of descent and the third is related to Ego in the same manner as the second except for a difference in the sex of the connecting relative" (Murdock, 1949, p. 142).

THE TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The standard or aboriginal Washo kinship terminology is given in table 1 (pp. 356-357). The standard terminology is still used by the majority of modern Washo. It is a generation type of terminology in ego's generation and a bifurcate collateral type in the first ascending and first descending generations.

The morphophonemic analysis of kinship terms in table 1 is by William H. Jacobsen. The first column lists a number for each term; these numbers are the same as the ones used in the diagram of the standard Washo consanguineal kinship system appearing on figure 1. The second column gives the English translation for each term. The third column presents the singular form with the prefix indicating first person possessive. The final column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. If the stem is preceded by a hyphen, this indicates that it must always take a possessive prefix even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. The terms are given in approximately the order used by Lowie (1939).

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All cousins are called older and younger brother or sister depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. The relative ages of ego and his cousin do not affect the choice of terms; hence, a person may call a chronologically older cousin "younger brother," provided that his parent is older than his cousin's parent. Kroeber (1917) says that cousins are called older or younger siblings according to their own ages. This point was thoroughly checked with a number of informants and they all agree that terms applied to cousins depend on the relative ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than on the ages of ego and his cousin. Since Kroeber's

[K4] [128]

[text continues on p. 358, A]

[P. 356]

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TABLE 1

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	dagáy°	-gá°y
2.	mother	dáli°	-lá°
3.	parent	di°nálu	-°nálu
4.	parent	dayá·La	-á·La
5.	son	dagá·m	-gá·m
6.	daughter	dagámu°	-gámu°
7.	children	dagá°naŋ	-gá°naŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin	di°á·ta	-°á·ta
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin	di°á·na	-°á·na
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin	dábiya	-bíya
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin	dawíwak	-wíwag
12.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	dabálu or dábálu	-bálu
13.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di°yábévtam	-bévtam
14.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di°yámuwá·lwi°	. . .
15.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	dawí	-wí
Grandparent and grandchild class			
16.	father's father	dábá·ba°	-bá·ba°
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	bábá·ja°	-bá·ba°
18.	mother's father	di°yálal	-°yálal
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	ba°yálali°	-°yálal
20.	father's mother	di°yáma°	-°yáma°
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	ba°yá°ma°	-°yáma°
22.	mother's mother	dagá°a	-gá°a
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	bagá°yi°	-gá°a
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dábáb	-báb
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	bababyi°	-báb
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	dáámu°	-ámu°
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	baá°ma°	-ámu°
28.	father's father's brother	dáábaab	-ábaag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	baábaagi°	-ábaag
30.	mother's father's brother	di°yá·ba	-°yá·ba
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	ba°yá·ja°	-°yá·ba
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dáá°a	-á°a
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	baá°yi°	-á°a
Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class			
34.	relative of third ascending generation	dáláwa	-láwa
35.	relative of third descending generation	baláwi	-láwa
Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di°yádi°	-°yádi°
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dáá°da	-áá°da°
38.	mother's brother	dáá°a	-á°a
39.	sister's child	dáá·ga	-áá·ga
40.	father's sister	dáyá·°	-yá·°
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	dábáaak	-báaag
42.	mother's sister	dábába°	-bába°

[P. 357]

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TABLE 1
(continued)

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	ldyuh	-dyuh
44.	son-in-law	dihn'dgaal°	-hn'dgaal°
45.	daughter-in-law	ldyud	-dyud
46.	child's spouse's parents	ldoosh	-doog
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	dwid-dai	-wid-dai
48.	husband's brother	dsaw'dwah°	-saw'dwah°
49.	sister's husband	dshlaaw	-shlaaw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dsaahlda°	-saahlda°
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	dydgil	-ydgil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dlhaaad'il°	-haad'il°
53.	husband	di'had-li	-'had-l
54.	wife	daaid'ya°	-aid'ya° or -iaid'ya°

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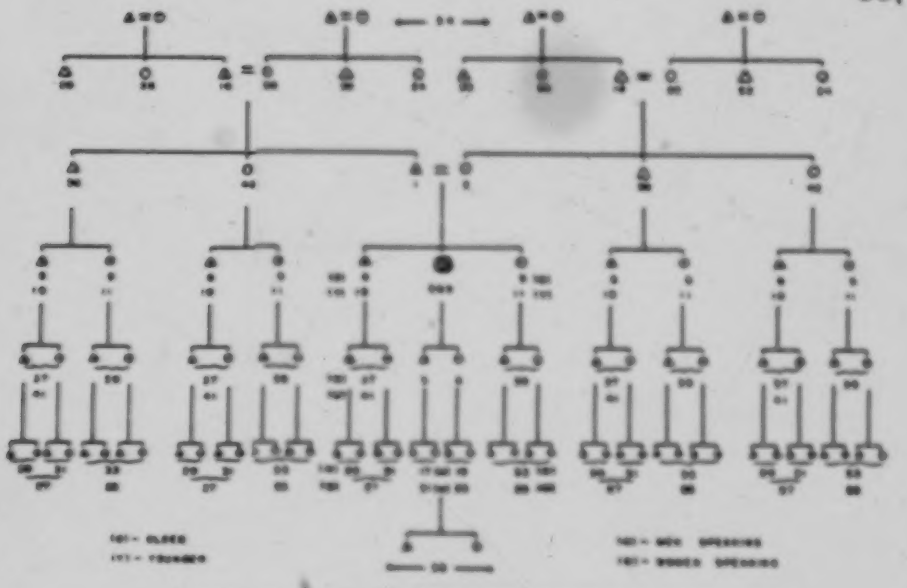

Figure 1. The standard Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females.

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[114]

information came from a single informant, he may have been misinformed on this point. There is, however, a tendency among younger people to call cousins older or younger siblings on the basis of their own ages rather than the ages of parents and their siblings. This trend is clearly visible in the analysis of terminological usages given in table 2. It is a logical development since the introduction of schools, calendars, and written records of births. Before them, relative ages of individuals of different nuclear families would not ordinarily be known if the persons were of approximately the same age.

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Six distinct terms exist for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Brother's child is distinguished from sister's child; both are distinguished from own children. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives. All my informants were quite definite on this point. Lowie (1939) and Siskin (MS) say that mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother, and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This was true when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. In such cases, mother's sister's husband is the same person as father's brother; and father's brother's wife is the same person as mother's sister. Lowie's information may have been obtained from the descendant of such a marriage.

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Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. For example, ego calls his mother's father di·ʔálel (my mother's father), and this relative calls him le·ʔálelí· (my daughter's child). Morphophonemically, the stem of these two words is the same (-·ʔálel). The term, le·ʔálelí·, may be translated approximately as "the one whose mother's father I am."

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There are apparently no differences in terms of reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) have not reported any; and I have found none in the course of my interviewing. William Jacobsen, who is currently making a study of the Washo language, also corroborates this.

601 ●

The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized. [582]

POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

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The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di'ʔí·aa humá·li? (my older sister's husband) as well as dimá·gu dagóy? (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

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[P.258,C]
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S76

TABLE 3

Polite Affinal Terms

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law	le?dleli? dagóy? (m. sp.); lagá?yi? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father; daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law.....	labé·ɲa? dalá? (m. sp.); lagá?yi? dalá? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother; son's child's mother
father-in-law	dibumé·li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother	diŋá?miŋ dadá?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.....	diŋá·m de?éwði?	son's father's brother
sister's husband	dimá·gu dagóy? di?í·sa bumé·li?	sister's child's father older sister's husband
brother's wife	dimáĭ dalá? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife	diššmuk dalá? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

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ALTERNATE TERMS

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Terminological change was determined by comparing modern usages with the standard kinship system. In the course of seventy genealogical interviews, at least a few variant kinship usages could probably have been collected during aboriginal times. However, the conditions of modern Washo life make variant usages in genealogical interviews almost inevitable. Some informants speak Washo poorly and may guess at terms; others do not understand English well and may misunderstand the investigator's questions. The problem is to separate the alternate usages due to mistakes and misunderstandings from the ones which may indicate that the terminological system is changing.

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Two criteria are available for this purpose. First, usages arising from change in the terminological system should occur more frequently than other "alternate" usages which appear to represent erroneous information. Second, the alternate terms of the new, emerging kinship system should form an internally consistent system.

Analysis of the Washo genealogical data showed the following alternate usages.

1. Thirteen informants called some or all of their cousins by terms distinct from the sibling terms. The terms used are numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in table 1.

2. Five informants called their brother's children and sister's children by a single term.

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TABLE 3

Incidence of Washo Kinship Usages in Ego's and Adjacent Generations

Kinship usage*	Age group of informants							
	10-19 (15)†	20-29 (13)	30-39 (7)	40-49 (12)	50-59 (8)	60-69 (8)	70-79 (5)	80-89 (2)
Siblings								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	2							
Miscellaneous	2	1						
Cousins								
Standard	2	3	4	8	7	7	4	
By own age	4	4	1	1	1			
Alternate	3	3	1	2	2	2		1
Term unknown	9	6	2		1			
Miscellaneous	1			2				
Uncles								
Standard	6	11	6	10	7	6	5	2
Alternate	3							
Term unknown	7	1				1		
Miscellaneous				1				
Aunts								
Standard	8	8	4	10	7	7	4	2
Term unknown	6	1	1					
Miscellaneous		2						
Nephews and nieces								
Standard	3	8	4	11	8	8	5	2
Alternate	1	2	2					
Term unknown	5	3						
Miscellaneous	1	1			1			
Father and mother								
Standard	12	13	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	3							
Son and daughter								
Standard	1	8	5	9	7	5	4	2

*The meanings of "standard" and "by own age" are clear from the text. "Term unknown" means the informant did not know the term. "Alternate" refers to the terms of the new terminological system. "Miscellaneous" includes all alternate usages regarded as unsignificant; these are listed in the text. If a single informant gave different kinds of usages (e.g., standard and alternate) for a single kind of relative (e.g., cousins), he was counted twice. If he gave more than one different kind of "miscellaneous" response for any one kind of relative (as for example to call one aunt "grandmother's sister" and the other aunt "great-grandparent"), he was counted only once.

†The number in parentheses is the number of informants in the age group.

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3. Three informants called their mother's brother and father's brother by a single term.

Two alternate usages were given by two informants: mother's brother's child was called brother's child, and older brother was called younger brother. A considerable number of alternate usages were given by only one informant: father's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's sister was called great-grandparent, mother's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's brother was called older brother, brother's son was called younger brother, mother's sister's son was called sister's child, and older sister was called younger sister. One woman used the male speaking term for brother's child instead of the female term. One informant used brother's child (man speaking) for sister's son and brother's son, and sister's child for sister's daughter and brother's daughter. This is what Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d., p. 42) call a "loan translation," that is, the Washo terms have been equated with the English nephew and niece terms.

The three alternate usages which occur most frequently appear to represent change in the terminological system. They form a consistent system: the new terminology is of the lineal type in all generations. The alternate cousin terms and the terminological merging of brother's child and sister's child show a significantly higher frequency than all other alternate usages. The merging of father's brother and mother's brother occurs only slightly more than other, nonsignificant alternate usages; but it is included with the other two primarily because it conforms to the trend toward a lineal terminological system in the three generations under study.

The alternate terms appear to represent a new system of kinship terminology rather than survivals from an older system. From the breakdown of Washo kinship usages given in table 3, it can be seen that the alternate uncle and nephew-niece terms are used by individuals in the younger age groups; and this leads to the inference that they are recent. The alternate cousin terms are spread rather evenly throughout the generations, but they too appear to be part of a new terminological system. This is indicated from the terms used for children of cousins. Older people generally use the terms meaning brother's child and sister's child in spite of the fact that they no longer call their cousins siblings. Younger people tend to use the cousin terms for the children of cousins. The terms for cousins apparently are first changed in ego's generation, and the change is then extended to the first descending generation. Thus the use of the alternate cousin terms is becoming more firmly embedded in the terminology. Another reason for believing that the cousin terms are part of a new kinship system is that the older people who use them state that sibling terms are also correct whereas the younger people are unaware that sibling terms may be used. The greater frequency of the alternate cousin terms compared to the alternate nephew-niece and uncle terms and their greater age as indicated by their occurrence among older persons is in accord with Dole's observation that when terminological patterns change, the cousin terms change first (Dole, MS, p. 428). The Washo data indicate that terms of the first descending generation may be the next to change, followed by changes in the parental generation.

Most people who use the standard cousin terms declare that the alternate cousin terms are incorrect.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-19 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Washo residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1926), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Washo residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1926, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1948, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who [178] lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but [594]

more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

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This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfather's were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 196), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was egocentric and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Kuper, 1918). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 132, 137). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 112). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 39-40; 1954).

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The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 136-137):

Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

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differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

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From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1945, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 429). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 388, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, cooperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text Continues TOP of P 391, B]

CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of consanguineal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Wambo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Wambo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their context. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Wambo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907, 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1955-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 268).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

In the first descending generation, there are separate terms for son, daughter, brother's child, and sister's child. The younger Washo tend to classify brother's children and sister's children under a single term, but this is infrequent and occurs only five times in the group of 70 Washo.

Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. A person calls his father's father dibǩ·he? (my father's father) and this relative calls him latǩ·he? (my son's child) which can be approximately translated as "the one whose father's father I am." A single term is used for all relatives of the third ascending generation, and another term derived from the same stem for all relatives of the third descending generation.

The Washo do not have separate terms for reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) report none, and we have found none in our interviewing. Jacobsen, in personal communication, also corroborates this.

The Washo have a set of polite teknonymous terms which they use for most affinal relatives. The list given in Table 2 may not be complete, for we did not investigate all of the logical possibilities. For example, two terms are given for sister's husband (my sister's child's father and my older sister's husband) and only one for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother). The possible descriptive terms, older or younger brother's wife, were not given by our informants, but most probably this is because they simply failed to mention them. Despite the fact that Table 2 is incomplete, the essentials of the system of polite affinal terms are adequately presented.

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Table 1

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives[a]

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	dig6y?	-g6y
2.	mother	di1?	-i?
3.	parent	di?mí·lu	-?mí·lu
4.	parent	dityé·Lu	-é·Lu
5.	son	diŋá·m	-ŋá·m
6.	daughter	diŋámu?	-ŋámu?
7.	children	diŋá?miŋ	-ŋá?miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?á·tu	-?á·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?í·sa	-?í·sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	diwíisuk	-wíisug
12.	distant male relative or friend (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend (m. sp.)	di?uliŁáwlam	-Łáwlam

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14.	distant male relative or friend (w. sp.)	di?ulimeé·liwi?	...
15.	distant female relative or friend (w. sp.)	diséʼ	-séʼ

Grandparent and grandchild class

16.	father's father	dibá·ba?	-bá·ba?
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·ba?	-bá·ba?
18.	mother's father	di?élel	-?élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?éleli?	-?élel
20.	father's mother	di?áma?	-?áma?
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la?á?ma?	-?áma?
22.	mother's mother	digú?u	-gú?u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú?yi?	-gú?u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibáʼ	-báʼ
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	lebáʼyi?	-báʼ
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	disáma?	-sáma?
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	lasá?ma?	-sáma?
28.	father's father's brother	disáksak	-sáksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	lasáksagi?	-sáksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di?é·bu	-?é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?é·bu?	-?é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dité?o	-té?o
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	laté?yi?	-té?o

Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class

34.	relative of third ascending generation	dipʼlsew	-pʼlsew
35.	relative of third descending generation	lepʼlsewi	-pʼlsew

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Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di?ćwǎl?	-?ćwǎl?
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá?aa	-má?ǎa?
38.	mother's brother	didá?a	-dá?a
39.	sister's child	dimá·gu	-má·gu
40.	father's sister	diyá·?	-yá·?
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	diǎémuk	-ǎémug
42.	mother's sister	diǎáǎa?	-ǎáǎa?
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	lǎyuk	-ǎyuk
44.	son-in-law	dibu?ǎŋalí?	bu?ǎŋalí?
45.	daughter-in-law	lǎyeǎ	-ǎyeǎ
46.	child's spouse's parents	lǎmik	ǎmig
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwlá·dut	-wAlá·dut
48.	husband's brother	dime?ćwǎl?	-me?ćwǎl?
49.	sister's husband	didámaw	-dámaw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimaǎáǎa?	-maǎáǎa?
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyáŋil	-yáŋil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumé·li?	bumé·li?
53.	husband	di?mé·ǎ	-?mé·ǎ
54.	wife	dimlá·ya?	-mlá·ya? or -imlá·ya?

[a] Source: adapted from Freed, 1960, 356-7.

Fig.1. The aboriginal Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females; numbers refer to the terms in Table 1.
Source: Freed, 1960, 257.

S. d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NIH Washo NIH

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Table 2

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Polite Affinal Terms[a]

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law.	le?ɬeli? dagóy? (m. sp.)	daughter's child's father;
	legú?yi? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law . .	labá·ɬa? dalɬ? (m. sp.)	son's child's mother;
	legú?yi? dalɬ? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother
father-in-law . . .	dibumɬ-li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother. . .	digɬ?miŋ dadɬ?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.	digɬ·m de?ɬwɬi?	son's father's brother
sister's husband. .	dimɬ·gu dagóy?	sister's child's father
	di?ɬ·sɬ? bumɬ-li?	older sister's husband
brother's wife. . .	dimɬɬ dalɬ? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife. . .	diɬɬmuk dalɬ? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

[a] Source: Freed, 1960, 358.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory. Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [573] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyûliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."